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RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED BY THE

ANTIMASONIC MEMBERS

OF THE

LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS,

AND OTHER CITIZENS OF BOSTON AND THE VICINITY, OPPOSED TO THE NOMINATION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN AND RICHARD M. JOHNSON FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF U. S. AT A MEETING HELD IN THE CHAMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 9, 1836.

WITH AN

ADDRESS

To their Antimasonic Fellow Citizens throughout the State

BOSTON:
D. HOOTON.....PRINTER.....CONGRESS STREET.

1836.

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RESOLUTIONS

P 1589

At a Meeting of the Antimasonic members of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and other Antimasonic citizens of Boston and vicinity, opposed to the nomination of Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson for President and Vice President of the United States, held at Boston, in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, Wednesday Evening March 9, 1836. Gen. Thomas Longley of Hawley was chosen President, Welcome Converse Esq. of Monson, Vice President, and Samuel H. Reed Esq. of Rowe, and John Boynton Esq. of Groton, Secretaries. After some appropriate introductory remarks by the President, the following Resolutions were offered, and after addresses by several gentlemen, adopted by the Meeting.

Resolved, That as a portion of the Antimasonic members of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and a number of Antimasonic citizens of Boston, on the 29th of January last, nominated *Martin Van Buren* as a candidate for the support of the Antimasons of the State, for President of the United States at the next election, it is incumbent upon those Antimasons who disapprove of such nomination, publicly to express their disapprobation of it, and to appeal from that decision to the intelligence and patriotism of their fellow citizens throughout the Commonwealth, who are thus placed in the position of adherents and supporters of the present administration, not only without their consent, but in direct opposition to their wishes and former political faith.

Resolved, That we consider the nomination of Martin Van Buren by the Antimasonic party, as a virtual surrender of their principles identified as he is with a class of politicians, who take upon themselves responsibilities not enjoined by the constitution, and who yield to expediency the paramount claims of the law; and we have seen with surprise and regret, in a portion of the Antimasons of this State, and its principle organ of communication, a tendency to support a party, whose patriotism seems to us to be measured, not by their love for the principles of a Republican Government, not by the amount of services they have rendered to their country, but by the zeal with which they have sustained the Executive—preferring the supremacy of his will, to the "Supremacy of the Laws."

Resolved, That the legitimate object of organized Antimasonry, has ever been to watch over and protect the rights of the community, to detect and counteract wrongs, and to purify the body politic of a supposed pollution—that Antimasons, in becoming so, never intended to annihilate their own individuality, their right to regard their country's welfare as paramount to all minor interests, nor to render themselves subservient to any individual or party that might assume to dictate to them, as to their political preference and conduct.

Resolved, That the time has come, and that a state of things exists, which calls on all who love the constitution and free institutions of our common country—*on all honest men*, —to exercise a righteous judgement, to discriminate impartially between true and false, patriots—between lovers of their country, and lovers of themselves—between men of scund principles and officious, headstrong partizans—between those who are seeking the stability and triumph of our Republican government, and such as are struggling to gain an eminence on which to plant their own standard.

Resolved, That principles are always dearer to us than men, because the former are intelligible, fixed and permanent; while the latter are inexplicable, variable, and often unworthy the confidence they claim. That the best qualities of public men—the rulers of the nation—are simplicity of manners, open-hearted sincerity, an inflexible adherence to those principles, which are the basis of the Republic, and an intelligence capable of sustaining those virtues, and of giving the best direction to all official action, without the liability of being embarrassed by the wiles of the false patriot and the designing.

Resolved, That it is our duty to use all prudent and honorable means, to promote the election of those to high offices in the Government, who are willing to dedicate themselves wholly to the service of our country. To endeavor to secure an administration pure, stable, and as conformable to fundamental principles, as superior to every bias inconsistent with uncorrupted patriotism and pure love of country.

Resolved, That acting upon these principles, and in accordance with the views herewith presented,—we recommend DANIEL WEBSTER to the Antimasonic Republicans of Massachusetts for their support for the office of President of the United States, at the next election; well assured that his preeminent qualifications as a Statesman, his attachment to the Constitution, his free and open declaration on the subject of Freemasonry, will place him above all other competitors for the Executive chair, in the estimation of those who desire the Supremacy of the Laws, and the preservation of those principles upon which our National Union is founded.

Resolved, That we likewise recommend that firm *Patriot* and consistent Antimason, FRANCIS GRANGER, of N. York, as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, to be supported at the next election by our Antimasonic brethren in this State— in the full belief that his election would be a blessing to the country, and an honor to the party which shall have contributed to raise him to that exalted station.

Resolved, That as we are deliberately and entirely convinced that on such men as WEBSTER and GRANGER the best hopes of the country may repose with the greatest safety, we will not permit ourselves to be moved from the position we have taken, out of complaisance to the *Advocate* of any party whatever. We will take all fair and honorable measures to promote their election and respectfully solicit the aid and co-operation of our Antimasonic fellow-citizens in the Commonwealth.

Resolved, That we cordially concur in the sentiments expressed by his Excellency the Governor in his recent address, on the subject of secret associations; we think with him that it is greatly to be wished, for the harmony of society and the concert of good men in promoting the public weal, that in just deference to public sentiment and the law, the still lingering causes of discontent and jealousy in this respect should be finally sacrificed at the altar of the public peace. We believe much may be done towards the accomplishment of this most desirable object by mutual moderation and conciliation—by mutual concession and sacrifice; and when this can be accomplished without the sacrifice of our principles, we shall rejoice that the end of our political organization is attained.

Resolved, That Messrs. Bates of Boston, Clark of Watertown, Goodell of Milbury, Hardy of Waltham, and Boynton of Groton, be a Committee to prepare an Address to the People of this Commonwealth.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the President and Secretaries, and published.

THOMAS LONGLEY, *President.*

WELCOME CONVERSE, *Vice President.*

SAMUEL H. REED, } *Secretaries.*
JOHN BOYNTON, }

ADDRESS

TO THE

ANTIMASONIC REPUBLICANS

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The attempt which has been made by some of the members of the Legislature, and their associates, to unite the Antimasonic party of this Commonwealth with the friends and supporters of the National Administration, by the nomination of Martin Van Buren as a candidate for President of the United States, to be supported by them at the next election; is a measure which has imposed upon those Antimasons, members of the same Legislative body, who are opposed to such a course, the necessity of expressing their views to their Antimasonic fellow citizens throughout the state, on this important question; and of making a nomination that will, as they believe, more truly coincide with the wishes of those friends of the Antimasonic cause who still adhere to its original principles.

It has been justly observed by an eminent writer of the present day, in relation to another subject, that "a nation can suffer no greater calamity than the loss of its principles." This sentiment is emphatically true when applied to the Antimasonic party,—a party which sprang from the bosom of the people to strengthen and establish a *principle*, and not to acquire merely *political power*—that principle is the '*supremacy of the laws.*' And it looks for the preservation of our liberties to those constitutional guarantees by which they are designed to be protected; and should it ever be found necessary for the accomplishment of its purposes, to assimilate itself with another party, its inherent principle would seem to dictate that it should be with

one which has a common interest in restraining the encroachments of power, and in counteracting the pernicious tendency of official corruption. Antimasonry is more closely allied to the political purity of our rulers, and the constitutional administration of our laws than any party which has hitherto arisen among us; for it was the infraction of the law by a powerful institution, in the protection afforded by its extensive organization, to the violators of the public peace, which called it into existence. *Right* and not *Expediency* must ever be the essential article of its faith, and power when it leaps the boundaries of the constitution, will have triumphed over the principles that lie at the bottom of our cause. We war against the lodge room for the violation of individual rights. Party may invade them in another form, and the same principle which impels us to resist the encroachments of one, will lead us to oppose, with equal earnestness, the unlawfulness of the other. We quarrel not with the mode by which injustice is inflicted, our contention is with the evil itself.

The time has been when the adherence of "inflexible minorities" to their distinctive principles has been the theme of applause. But the praise which has so often exhorted them to PERSEVERE, has suddenly become converted into the more palatable doctrine of the political combinations of the day, that *expediency* is better than *principle*, and that popular majorities, however constituted, are more congenial to the feelings of modern patriotism, than a hopeless contest for principles.

Acting upon these views we have seen with regret a portion of the Antimasons of this state, throwing aside that distinctive character which has hitherto distinguished them, assume a position which identifies them with one of the great political parties of the day—a party to whose unfaithful character, as it regards the best interests of the country, their own recorded testimony stands out in bold relief—a party which hurled that distinguished Antimason John Quincy Adams from the Executive chair and filled it with a *worthy brother*, who acknowledges the "jurisdiction" of the lodge room, and stoops from the elevated station of a chief magistrate of this mighty nation, to enact, with his gilded hammer, the part of a mock artificer in a Masonic ceremony. A party which under the name of *Democracy* has been striving to invest the Executive with more than royal prerogatives; and to make the supremacy of his will, paramount to the "supremacy of the laws"; which has converted the civil agents of government, created for the benefit of the governed,

into a band of pensioners whose only fealty is obedience to their political chief, and whose patriotism is measured, not by the amount of services rendered to the Country, but by the zeal and clamor with which they have sustained the idols they are required to adore.

That such is its character we shall give you proof from Antimasonic authority, which is all that will be required in addressing you, who have given your sanction to the authorities we shall refer to, by public Conventions and in primary meetings through the ballot box.

That Martin Van Buren is the representative of that party, would hardly seem to require evidence, as his own more immediate partizans do not deny it; but claim for him a share of the popularity of the present Executive from the known agency he has had in his Administration; and were it necessary to furnish any additional testimony to satisfy you of a fact, self evident to all who have paid any attention to the political connections of his supporters; his own declaration that it was "glory enough to have served under such a chief" alluding to the present executive, is sufficient to establish the truth of this position; which none but Antimasons, who are probably surprised to find themselves in such strange company, would ever doubt: but direct proof is not wanting, and "non commital" cannot avail his new admirers and associates, for in his letter accepting the nomination of the Baltimore Convention, composed of the firmest adherents of General Jackson he pledges himself "to carry out the *principles* and *policy*," which have been adopted and pursued by the present Executive.

These remarks will probably be considered by most of you as unnecessary, nor should we have thought them worthy of consideration, had it not been asserted by way of palliation for those former opposers of the present national administration, who have recently determined to become the supporters of the intended succession, that there is in reality a difference between *Jacksonism* and *Van Burenism*. If uniformity in principle, and co-operation in action, and an open declaration of the intention to pursue and practice both, do not constitute the identity of parties, then it is useless to distinguish things by names, for they import no meaning within the reach of the most sagacious comprehension. The reasoning, if such it may be called, which raises such a distinction where there is no difference, by changing the name by which the thing may be designated while it remains in all its essential characteristics the same, shows a perversity of mind,

and a contempt for your understandings which can never be honorable to those who use it.

As further confirmation that the supporters of Martin Van Buren belong to the Jackson dynasty, which some Antimasons are trying to pursuade you is not the case, we quote the following Resolutions adopted at a meeting held at the Old Common Council Room in Boston March 14. 1836 by the friends of the present national Administration.

"*Resolved*—That in MARTIN VAN BUREN and RICHARD M. JOHNSON, we recognize men who have proved worthy and faithful disciples of THOMAS JEFFERSON, and able and STEDFAST SUPPORTERS of ANDREW JACKSON, and consider them pre-eminently entitled to the support of the Democracy of the country for the offices for which they have been nominated."

The association of the name of JEFFERSON with that of JACKSON would doubtless answer the purposes of the Party better, if the opinion which the former has given of the character and fitness of the latter could be *expunged* from the memory of his countrymen—But our purpose is only to show that the partizans of Martin Van Buren do not admit the distinction which his new friends have endeavored to make out.

To show you the estimation in which the party which supports Martin Van Buren and its distinguished chief, is held by Antimasons, we refer you to Extracts from a Resolution adopted by the Antimasonic Convention held at Worcester in 1832 and the Address of the same to the people of the State, and to other authorities of equal respectablity.

Extract from the Resolution adopted by the Antimasonic Convention held at Worcester, in 1832.

"*Resolved*, That he (Gen. Jackson) has proved himself eminently disqualified for the high station, by his want of knowledge and experience, by his violent temper, and by the weakness and decays of age, and that his administration *has been marked by gross errors both in theory and practice.*"

Extracts from the Address of the Antimasonic Convention held at Worcester in 1832.

"Neither has it escaped our observation in forming an estimate between the evils of *Jacksonism* and the evils of *Freemasonry*, that although the laws have been outraged under his administration, and *constructively* too, by the *countenance of the Executive;* especially in the instances of assaults upon members of Congress, yet no impediment has been opposed to the due course of law in the punishment of offenders by the legal tribunals, while on the other hand the most daring outrage, committed upon the life of a citizen, under the penalties and direct sanction of Freemasonry, has gone unpunished and unatoned for, solely because that institution proved itself stronger than the civil laws in protecting its guilty subjects."

"We hold the national welfare and the purity of our national institutions, a paramount consideration, calling upon all citizens to unite in ridding the country of the *misrule* of of *Jacksonism*, and the *misrule* of *Freemasonry*. The incompetency of the present Chief Magistrate (Gen. Jackson) surrounded as he is by the *worst influences*, and his departure from the fundamental principles upon which all former administrations have been conducted, would in the event of his re-election almost compel us to doubt the capacity of the people for sound discrimination in self government."

"The greatest of these evils is the degeneracy of *public morals*, the outrages committed upon the freedom of debate, the passionate violence of the Executive, the substitution of his will for the will of the people, and the *character of the partizans by whom he is surrounded.*"

On the 10th of August, 1832, the Antimasonic State Committee addressed a letter to the Hon. Samuel Lathrop, of Springfield, who at the Convention held at Worcester, in the autumn of the same year, was nominated as a candidate for Governor by the Antimasonic party—the following is an extract from his reply to the Committee.

Extract from the Letter of Hon. Samuel Lathrop to the Antimasonic State Committee.

"Under the present administration of the National Government (Gen. Jackson's) we have seen such repeated violations of the Constitution and laws, such usurpations of power as could scarcely have saved a Washington from impeachment when in the zenith of his popularity; the obligations of treaties and laws, long since in force and executed by all former Presidents, neglected, disregarded, violated; the judiciary power, a co-ordinate branch of the government and equally independent with the Executive, within its constitutional sphere, trampled under foot; the advisory power of the Senate, in appointments to office, repeatedly spurned and contemned; the offices under the government conferred as rewards on political partizans; other citizens, even the hoary veterans of the Revolutionary war, punished and deprived of their customary means of support; merely for exercising the rights of freemen; the voice of the people and of the Legislature silenced by an arbitrary veto; the constitution, laws, treaties and all the powers vested in the co-ordinate branches of the government, made to bow to the sovereign will of the Executive."

Extracts from the Speech of the Hon John Quincy Adams, Member of Congress, on the Deposits Question.

"To this same final object of simplifying the machine, two other maxims have been proclaimed as fundamental of the present administration. First, that the contest for place and power in this country is a state of war, and all the emoluments of office are the spoils of victory. The other, that it is the invariable practice of the President to reward his friends and punish his enemies."

"The experiment undertaken by the Chief Executive Magistrate, is in its nature, an assumption by him of *legislative power*. But it cannot be consummated without your consent and co-operation. Most of you have been elected as members of this House under pledges to support his administration. How many of you were aware that in redemption of this pledge, you would be called to surrender to him your own peculiar and appropriate functions of legislation—to *pervert* the forms and *invert* the substance of that division of powers, without which, we have been taught from our childhood that freedom is but the shadow of a shade. Your Constitution has committed its legislative powers to Congress, and the Executive power to the President of the United States. But now the President has constituted himself the *legislator*, and calls upon you to execute *his* ordinances and decrees."

"The pressure of the removal of the deposits is nearly past, it has *ruined its thousands, and afflicted its millions.*" "The prosperity of a great nation cannot long suffer from so trifling an incident as that. But the wrong is done and its consequences will remain festering and inflaming the body of the community, until that wrong shall be repaired. *Your President has usurped legislative power;* he has laid his hands upon your treasure and is now converting it to his own purposes. He has seized it, and now wields it as a weapon of power to himself, an instrument of plunder to his partizans."

The following Resolution was adopted by the Antimasonic Congressional Convention (14th District) New York, and copied with approbation into the Boston Daily Advocate, September 18, 1832.

"*Resolved*, That the principles contained in the President's Veto Message on the Bank bill are highly dangerous to the institutions and interests of our country, and that they aim a death blow to the Judiciary, and claim supreme and uncontrolled power for the President."

["The discipline of the Jackson party is as admirable as its practices are CORRUPT"—*Boston Daily Advocate and Free Press, May* 5, 1832.]

Such is the character of an Administration in which Martin

Van Buren has acted a conspicuous part, and whose "principles and policy" he has publicly pledged himself to carry out and support. The evidences of its evil tendency are drawn from sources you are accustomed to respect—from authorities which will not be disregarded by those who call themselves Antimasons. Are such principles consistent with that respect you have avowed for the "Supremacy of the laws"? are they the principles for which you have so long contended? If the allegations be *true*, and they are sustained by those whose names rank high among the most zealous defenders of your cause, every motive of honor, consistency and patriotism forbid you to have any communion with the party which adopts them. To call upon you to rid the country of the "misrule of Jacksonism" and at the same time to invite you to vote for an individual for the Presidency, who has shared the counsels of this same Executive, and contributed to the "misrule" of his administration, and pledged himself to carry out its principles and policy, supposes a hardihood of political degeneracy, an obtuseness of a moral principle, which does not belong to the Antimasons of this state.

The consolidation of power in the hands of the Federal Government, and the strength imparted to its Executive, early attracted the jealousy of the Democracy of the country. But the lofty schemes of ultra Federalism, at that period when the experiment of a new government had not been subjected to the test of experience, could hardly have contemplated the stretch of authority which has since been assumed and exercised under an administration which appropriates to itself the exclusive right to the name of *Democracy*: while it has added to the Executive branch, the most prone of all the departments of Government, to abuse of its privileges, that of a *money power*, which the framers of that instrument which constitutes us a nation, thought they had left in the *custody* of the people themselves, or their immediate representatives in Congress. With a surplus revenue of thirty millions, the yearly interest of which amounts to one million and a half, a fund is created which is used without responsibility or accountability by the Executive; for the use of the revenue is equivalent to the amount of interest it is capable of producing. Nor is this all, the control of the public deposits, independent of the amount of its naturally accruing interest, confers a power over the happiness and prosperity of the people, especially when restrained by no law, of the most despotic character. Extending from the capital to the most distant of our cities they are subject to the fluctuations of Executive will. Seated in his palace, he has

but to touch the silver cord that binds them to his favor, and every enterprise of commerce, every resource of labor must feel the shock—the money market is under his control—he can wither the hopes of industry, and dry up the sources of wealth. He can operate upon the states, and compel them, as has been threaten'd, to a course of legislation more suited to his will. He can effect all this by withdrawing the public funds at his pleasure from one place and transfering them to another. Such is the practical operation of the power claimed and exercised by the Executive. Is this liberty? Is this Equal Rights? Is this Democracy? do we indeed hold our happiness and prosperity by so frail a tenure, as the *will* of one man, however wise or good he may be, and vainly flatter ourselves that we are a nation of freemen.

But the forms of government remain, our annual elections remind us of their existence, the State is sovereign and free.—With all these the character of our civil institutions may be changed. An army of office holders and the vast patronage of the Executive, when directed by partizan zeal, may exert an influence as fatal as an open assumption of lawless power. We are not among those who suppose that corruption has so far entered the body politic as to gangrene the whole system, altho its rapid strides may well excite alarm. Yet men of principle must be roused to action, or the disease will reach the vitals of the Republic. We have but pointed at abuses to show their tendency; if they be not resisted now, they will gather strength, and when the moral force of liberty is gone, there is nothing which can resist the invasion of tyranny when it approaches—and when it does come, it will be in the *name of the people*, it will assume the mantle of *Liberty*, and put on the broad garment of *Democracy*, the outward forms of freedom may remain when its substance is banished from the land. This is the history of oppression in other times. "The celebrated Roman Republic" says the historian,* "was under Augustus changed into a monarchy. It still retained "the republican offices, dignities and forms. The senate still "existed, and consuls were elected as usual. The title of Impera-"tor, by the moderns translated Emperor, signified nothing more "than the commander-in-chief of the military force of the Re-"public. The Constitution of the empire was limited in "theory, but despotic in reality. Augustus, who was a con-"summate master of the art of governing mankind, sensible "how much men are attached to forms and names, instead of

* Ramsay.

"abolishing the republican offices and dignities, contrived to "unite most of them in his own person."

If history be philosophy teaching by example, let the lesson it records assist us to guard, from the like invasions, the heritage of our fathers.

We have shown you in what estimation the party which supports Mr Van Buren, was held by Antimasons, in the days of their union and strength. Not many months have elapsed since his name was considered a term of reproach, by those who were laboring in your cause, and the allegation that an Antimasonic newspaper favored his election was set down as a device of opponents to weaken its influence. Prophecy has become history. Unhappily we believe for the character of the cause, we have been supporting, for it has cast the shadows of doubt upon the motives of those who were engaged in it.

The views which Antimasons have long held respecting Martin Van Buren, will be seen by the following extract from the Boston Daily Advocate of July 9, 1832, a paper regarded as the oracle of the party.

Extract from the Boston Daily Advocate.

"Hon. Martin Van Buren has arrived at New York from Europe. He comes at an inopportune time for the princely reception which his liege subjects of New York had prepared for him. The Cholera will be an overmatch even for the Magician. It seems to have come just in time to save the citizens of New York from the *degradation* of having the freedom of their city laid at the feet of the HIGH PRIEST OF POLITICAL INTRIGUE."

And the same paper "heartily approved" of the rejection by the Senate of the nomination of Martin Van Buren as Minister to England.

Previous to the Presidential Election in 1832, the New York Antimasonic State Committee published an Address to their fellow citizens, from which we copy the following, which gives their opinion of the character of Martin Van Buren—this was *after* he was Governor of that State, and the delivery of the Message quoted so often by his friends—the New York State Committee do not seem to have discovered anything in his political life favorable to your cause, and it is quite reasonable to suppose if anything existed they had the means of knowing it.

Extract from the Address of the New York Antimasonic State Committee, in 1832.

"With respect to the candidates for the Vice Presidency, it would probably be difficult to prsent a stronger contrast than exists between Amos Ellmaker and Martin Van Buren, alike distinguished for talents of a high order, there is scarcely another point of resemblanc in their characters. The one (Van Buren) has been all his life a partizan politician; constatly in the pursuit of office, he has literally made politics a trade, until he has probably come to the conclusion, that the proper business of man consists in the devising and executing schemes political aggrandizement. The other (Ellmaker) also has held office and has resigned it; not to obtain higher preferment, but to enjoy retirement."

Actuated by the same belief at a meeting of the Antimasons held at Boston, December 2, 1833, pending a canvass for Mayor of that city it was "with cordial unanimity"

"*Resolved*, that the election of General Lyman is also to be *deprecated* at this time, inasmuch as it is supposed, and would be inferred abroad, that it would impliedly pledge this city, to the support of a *particular candidate* for the succession to the Presidency."

That *particular candidate* is Martin Van Buren, to whose election to the Presidency Mr Lyman was supposed to be favorable. No new light has shown upon his principles since that period, and we cannot perceive why his election to the Presidency, ought not to be as much deprecated *now* as it was *then*—still less can we discover why those who hold to the opinion expressed by the Boston Antimasons in 1833, are less consistent in their professions and practice, than those who have abandoned it.

Ever since the organization of the Antimasonic party, its "distinctive principle" has been to support no man for office, who has not openly declared his disapprobation of Freemasonry. The Antimasonic Convention held at Boston in 1834, in approbation of this practice, adopted the following Resolution,

"*Resolved*, that we love our country too well to trust the government of her affairs in the hands of any class of men, however capable and however specious their professions, *unless they are known to be openly opposed to Freemasonry*, and as ready to resist its usurpations, as they are the usurpations of the Chief Executive, or any measures which are destructive of equal rights, and inconsistent with the supremacy of the constitution and laws."

When and where has Martin Van Buren declared himself "to be openly opposed to Freemasonry," so as to come within the rule thus solemnly adopted? Have your official guardians, the State Committee, ever asked him to break from his non-commital policy, and declare his sentiments on this, to us, vital question? Where can another instance be found when your votes were solicited for a candidate for public office, that his opinion was suffered to remain unknown? Is there no departure from the "landmarks" here? and who are best entitled to the praise of being true to your cause, those who still adhere to the good old rule of 1834, which once could not be dispensed with even in selecting a municipal officer, or those who have deliberately determined to act in opposition to it!

The execution of his ministerial duties as Governor of the state of New York has indeed been tortured by ingenuity to afford some color for inference, a slight ground for suspicion that he felt some tenderness for your principles. The "ninth arch" has been explored to find the *lost word*, but the treas-

ure has not been yet discovered. Some soft illusion only was made to a party fast rising into importance in his own state, but the evidence of his Antimasonry is less conclusive than that of his predecessor, a high and an adhering mason who offered a liberal reward, in his official capacity, for the apprehension of the murderers of William Morgan. Yet who ever before heard that this act of the Executive constituted him a member of the Antimasonic party? The history of those times tell a different story, and the proof of Mr Van Buren's attachment to your cause remains among the hidden things, which even the Antimasons of his own state have never been able to find.

A plea has been put in for him, which seems to have been forgotten in all other like cases, by his new friends, that there is an impropriety in calling upon him for an expression of his opinion on this subject, on the eve of an election. A plea designed to have a two fold application by operating as a shield for him and an expression of censure upon the open course of another distinguished individual. Those who use it are recreant to the principles you have established. Have they so soon forgotten the course pursued in relation to the nomination of the lamented Wirt, Lathrop and other eminent men who have received your votes? Have they forgotten the Resolution of the Convention of 1834? or have they so far "lost their principles" as to censure *now* a course they *then* declared to be indispensable?

Upon whatever grounds the friends of Mr Van Buren may place his claims, it is clear he cannot be supported upon Antimasonic principles. He has never declared himself "to be openly opposed to Freemasonry" he is the representative and the nominee of a party which has been publicly censured and condemned by those who have spoken in your behalf. Are you prepared to desert the principles you have so strenuously maintained, and to falsify your character for sincerity by an abandonment of the primitive articles of your faith? Consistency in political principles extorts respect even from determined opposition, while the flexible subserviency which yields them to *expediency*, is viewed with something more than distrust, even by those who are benefited by the change.

Richard M. Johnson is an adhering Freemason, this can be established beyond dispute, and we are not aware it has ever been denied. This alone must deprive him of your votes, and relieves us from the necessity of canvassing his pretensions. But for the connection which exists between him and Mr Van Buren all further remark would be unnecessary. They cannot be separated, for the connection is indissoluble. The same electors are

nominated for both, and you cannot distinguish between them. This is a dilemma which the Antimasonic friends of Mr Van Buren will find it difficult to escape from. Will they say the Electors are unpledged, and that the subject is referred to them as to a Grand Committee to decide to whom the votes of the freemen of this Commonwealth are to be given; we ask what security you have that this *unpledged* ticket this grand committee will not give their votes to a Freemason? Are the whole or any portion of the Electoral ticket nominated by the Jackson party pledged directly or indirectly to vote *against* Mr Johnson? We ask then, who is their candidate? If they are *not*, will you trust them with your principles in such a doubtful case, can it be expected that Antimasons will vote in the dark on this question? The party that nominated Mr VanBuren have confirmed the nomination of Richard M. Johnson at all their primary meetings. and it is idle for one portion of a public assembly to make a reservation, which they have not the means of carrying out, unless by nominating a different set of Electors, which they will not do, as it would deprive Mr Van Buren of all the advantages expected to ensue from a union of his friends with a fragment of the Antimasonic party. But it is said there are some Antimasons on their ticket, let this be granted, and also that in the last resort they will refuse to vote for R. M. Johnson, will the other Electors pursue the same course? No one pretends they will. It is not the terms of the amalgamation to give the advantage all to one side; if it were so, there would be no hesitation in informing the public of it. He would not be repeatedly confirmed in his nomination at every meeting of the Jackson party; but some candidate more acceptable to the Antimasons would be presented. The pretension is too farcical to impose upon the most careless credulity. What, to say that Mr Johnson is not to be voted for *in any event*, and then proclaim at every public meeting he is their candidate! Give it then a reasonable construction, and suppose the Antimasons on the Van Buren Electoral ticket will not support Mr. Johnson, and that the others will. Now as the Electoral ticket is voted for collectively, you violate your principles in voting for that portion who will give their support to a Freemason just as much as if the whole were of that class; and as the same individuals vote for President, if you take any from the list, you abstract as much from one as from the other. Ingenuity will hardly be able to devise a mode by which Antimasons, who have left the straight forward course of their former policy will be able to evade such a result.

Be not deceived by the cry that there are no masons on the Electoral ticket—look beyond that and see if they mean to give their votes for one—beware of a crooked policy—the Electors are, and ought to be, but *automata*—the mere agents of your will—if they do not mean to vote for a Freemason, let them say so and you will understand them, if they do not this, the artifice is too apparent to escape detection; and to vote for the Van Buren Electoral ticket, under the circumstances of the case, as it is now presented to you, involves the entire and absolute surrender of the principle for which you have hitherto contended.

Is it said that the time has arrived when our political organization should be abandoned, and we should become merged in other parties. Let those who adopt this belief address you in the name of the party to which they belong; and not put on the guise of Antimasonry for the fraudulent purpose of filling up the ranks of another party, which you have authoritatively pronounced to be adverse to your own, in its measures and general character. When our object is attained (the extinction of Freemasonry) we shall rejoice to end the controversy. The mode and the manner in which it can be done is pointed out in the Resolve adopted by the Antimasonic Convention assembled at Boston in 1834.

Resolution adopted by the Antimasonic Convention held at Boston in 1834.

"Resolved, that the Antimasonic party is a *National* party, formed on a basis involving fundamental principles, and paramount constitutional and national principles, and that it cannot be dissolved or disorganized by the acts of individuals or committees. And that while every one is bound to act or not to act with the Antimasonic party, as his own convictions of duty dictate, the proper concentration of public sentiment to determine when such a party has accomplished its objects and *may be merged in other parties*, with honor to itself and safety to equal rights, is a body similar to that which formed it composed of delegates of the people *assembled in National Convention*."

By the decision of such a body, Antimasons every where will consent to be bound; but they will not allow themselves "to be merged in other parties" by the management of a Central Committee, nor permit themselves to be enrolled by the drill sergeants of faction in the squadrons of a party, which offers them as the only boon for their enlistment, the elevation of a Freemason to the second office in the gift of the Republic, and to the exalted station of presiding over the highest and noblest legislative body in the world.

In presenting you the names of DANIEL WEBSTER and FRANCIS GRANGER as candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, we offer you candidates for those high offices whom you can support consistently with the

principles you have avowed, the undisguised friends of your cause, the able champions of constitutional Liberty, and the fearless opposers of those who would invade it. Eloquent in debate, capable by their eminent acquirements of discharging with ability such high and responsible trusts; and too honest in their views of all the great questions of policy or principle, which have agitated the country, to require concealment; their opinions are known and their influence is felt. To triumph with such men is glory indeed, and defeat, although it might grieve the lovers of civil freedom, would be more honorable than the surrender of its citadel without an effort to defend it.

Of the views which Mr Webster has long held of the Masonic Institution you have the most explicit and convincing proof. In the language of the Convention of 1834 "he is known to be openly opposed to Freemasonry." He alone in the Senate of the United States has stood forth to bear witness to the purity of your principles. In those halls where the name of Antimasonry had never before been pronounced, he gave his willing testimony to the integrity of its character, and the patriotism of its supporters. And on another occasion he has avowed his sentiments with a frankness which does honor to his heart. We refer to the following letter addressed to the Antimasons of Pennsylvania.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 20, 1835.

To Messrs. Harmar Denny, Benj Darlington, J. C. Gilleland, Neville B. Craig, W. W. Irwin—Delegates from the county of Allegheny to the Democratic Antimasonic Convention of Pennsylvania.

GENTLEMEN—I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 11th inst. the receipt of which has been delayed a few days by my absence from home.

Permit me, Gentlemen, to express my grateful sense of the respect shown me by my fellow citizens, the members of the Convention of Democratic Antimasons of Allegheny county, to their recent proceedings, as set forth in your communication. The esteem they are pleased to express for my public character, and their confidence in my attachment to the Constitution of the country, demand my profound acknowledgements.

Nor do they do me more than justice, in their belief of my entire accordance in their opinion on the subject of Secret Societies. You express a wish however that for the gratification of friends in other parts of the State, I would enable you to make known my sentiments respecting the order of Freemasonry. I have no hesitation, gentlemen, in saying, that however unobjectionable may have been the original objects of the institution, or however pure may be the motives and purposes of individual members, and notwithstanding the many great and good men who have from time to time belonged to the Order; yet, nevertheless, it is an institution which in my judgment, is essentially wrong in the principle of its formation; that from its very nature it is liable to great abuse; that among the obligations which are found to be imposed on its members, there are such as are entirely incompatible with the duty of good citizens; and that all *Secret Associations*, the members of which take upon themselves extraordinary obligations to one another, and are bound together by secret oaths, are naturally sources of jealousy and just alarm to others; are especially unfavorable to harmony and mutual confidence among men living together under popular institutions, and are dangerous to the general cause of civil liberty and good government. Under the influence of this conviction, it is my opinion that the future administration of all such oaths, and the imposition of all such obligations, *should be prohibited by law.*

I express these opinions, gentlemen, with the less reserve on this occasion, inasmuch as they have been often expressed already, not only to some of your own number, and many of your friends, but to all others, also, with whom I have at different times conversed on the subject.

Of the political principles and conduct of the Antimasons of Pennsylvania I have spoken

freely in my place in the Senate, and under circumstances which took from the occasion all just suspicion of any indirect purpose. The opinions then expressed are unaltered. I have ever found the Antimasons of Pennsylvania true to the Constitution, the Union, and to the great interests of the country. They have adopted the "Supremacy of the Laws," as their leading sentiment; and I know of none more just or more necessary. If there are among us any so high, as to be too high for the authority of law, or so low as to be too low for its regard and protection, or if there be any, who by any means whatever, may exempt themselves from its control, then to that extent we have failed to maintain an equal government. The Supremacy of the Constitution and the laws is the very foundation stone of Republican institutions; if it be shaken or removed from its place, the whole system must inevitably totter to its fall.

Your obliged friend and fellow citizen,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Nor is the position in which Mr. Webster stands to the Antimasonic party a thing of recent date, he has received their approbation and praise when there was no division among them. The Boston Daily Advocate and Free Press of September 17, 1833, says,

"Mr. Webster is himself an *Antimason*, and in every national principle is either the scholar or colleague of John Quincy Adams."

And from the same paper, July 24, 1833, we extract the following. The writer speaking of Daniel Webster remarks, "as you justly observe no man has a more lofty contempt of the mere pride of wealth, so I will add, that there is no man more noble and generous in proportion to his means It is impossible for any man to be wealthy who is possessed of such a heart as he has. This may be the reason why he is, and may have seemed to be somewhat under the control of a few aristocrats in this city. We presume the Western tour of Mr. Webster will convince him that he is *not* destined for the benefit of a few, but of the country, the WHOLE country!"

At a meeting of the Antimasonic members of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, held in the Representatives' Hall Thursday Evening, January 10, 1833, the following among other Resolutions were *unanimously* adopted.

"Wherefore it is Resolved, by the Antimasonic Republican members of the General Court, that we regard our fellow citizen Daniel Webster as a man whose services in the present crisis belong to the *Country* and not to a *party*: and to whose talents and integrity we look with confidence for a judicious, temperate and efficient defence of the union upon the true principles of the constitution, as maintained by Washington and his compatriots, and recently enforced in the Proclamation of the President of the United States."

"That we expect from such a man (who does not need either office or party favor, to give him consequence or success,) a manifestation that he is superior to subserviency to any party, or any party measure—and that he will practically and fearlessly illustrate his own patriotic declaration, that he will go for the country—the *whole* country—and nothing but the country."

"That he will neither hesitate to do justice, by fair and honorable conciliation to one section of the country, because redress of supposed grievances is demanded in an unconstitutional manner: nor if that shall fail, shrink from enforcing the laws, and sustaining the true interests of the country, by all constitutional means."

"Resolved, that entertaining this opinion of our fellow citizen (Daniel Webster) we regard him as no more belonging to the National Republican party, than to the Antimasonic Republican party, and that we deprecate the selfish attempts that have been made to circumscribe his popularity and public usefulness, within the narrow and decreasing limits of the former party."

"Resolved, That we are fully satisfied that Daniel Webster *holds the oaths and Institution of Freemasonry in contempt and abhorrence;* that he never has interposed his influence to shield Freemasonry from the force of public opinion: that he has avowed and fully believes "*it ought to come down, it must* come down—it will come down," and that he has not to our knowledge said or done, and we feel assured he will not do or say anything relating to the cause of Antimasonry, of which the Antimasonic party shall have reason to complain."

These Resolutions were advocated by the Hon. Mr. Whitmarsh, *then* as *now* Senator from Bristol County, and recently placed upon the Electoral ticket of the candidate opposed to Mr Webster. They speak the sentiments of the Antimasonic party and you have seen by the recent letter of Mr Webster that his opinions remain unchanged—he has been true to you and we doubt not you will be true to him.

Mr Webster has long been before the people and his views on all national subjects have been fully expressed and are extensively known. With an expansion of mind suited to the exalted stations in which he has been placed, he looks beyond the petty disputes of party to those national considerations upon which our future happiness and prosperity depend. When the doctrine of nullification was threatening our bond of union by its palpable heresies, we saw him sustaining the government with eloquence and zeal. And when the madness of party was striving to lay at the feet of Executive power all the functions of government, he breasted the fury of the popular frenzy and brought the resources of his gigantic intellect to the defence of constitutional freedom, and of those principles which can alone make it perpetual.

With a liberality of thought, which is guided by conviction rather than hope of gain, he labors for the good of the whole and not of any particular *class* of the community. Industry is the source of wealth, and the security of wealth the impelling motive to industry. In the complicated machine of government, he would provide that protection and inducement which would contribute to the happiness of all. The unfortunate has his sympathies, and we find him in the year 1829 acting among, us as President of a society formed for meliorating our Debtor laws and abolishing the practice of imprisonment for debt. He has exerted himself in Congress to procure the passage of a National Bankrupt law, suited to the wants of the nation; and had his counsels prevailed, many who have gone down to the grave in sadness and despair, would have been rescued from the Maelstrom of vice to which they were drawn by the pressure of misfortunes they had not energy enough to resist, to live in peace with their families, and be an ornament to that society to which they had become a burden and a reproach.

But it will be said our efforts are unavailing as our votes cannot elect him; and we must unite on an *available* candidate. The argument is a pernicious one in political controversies, and amounts to this, that you must throw away your principles because a more popular opponent is likely to succeed. It is the ethics of a trimmer, who always sails with wind and tide, to whatever haven it may bear him. According to this doctrine, however good your cause may be, it is vain to give it "form and pressure" by exhibiting to the public eye the *beau ideal* of its intrinsic excellence, in the character of the candidate placed be-

fore the people as its personified sentiment to express, in the only way in which it can be clearly and distinctly expressed to the comprehension of all, the amount of your approbation; and to throw into the general mass a little leaven of intelligence that may leaven the whole lump. In a virtuous community this influence is onward, vice has been retarded and defeated by its presence, even mighty revolutions have been effected by small means which this slavish principle of unavailableness, would have crushed in its incipient stages of existence.

Nor is such a course consistent with the practice of parties. Unavailable candidates are always supported by the different political divisions among us, who think their claims sufficiently important to require the attention of the public.* And as it regards this state, the opponent of Mr Webster is an unavailable candidate. From the last elective contest we have a right to infer that he cannot receive the votes of this state. Why then, using the argument which is employed against us, throw away your votes upon him? it will do him no good; will he thank you for an effort from which he will reap no benefit? We are a Sovreign and Independent state by ourselves, and in our internal polity and civil jurisprudence have many rights and many duties which do not come under the cognizance of the Federal Government at Washington. Why then, we repeat the question of our opponents, will you be in opposition to the majority, by supporting a candidate unavailable here?—and suffer yourselves to be at eternal war with the government of your own State?

But enough, we have done with this frivolous and disingenuous reasoning; candidates but represent the principles of the parties who support them, and give a perceptible form to the impelling motives of action. You will maintain your principles at every hazard, and support him who is the selected representative of them, this is *your* duty; and the consequences belong to him who controls the destinies of nations—the glory or the abasement of the empires of the earth.

We might enquire what would be your situation, if by some unforeseen casualty, the Electoral vote should be given to the opponent of Mr. Webster. A co-existing evil would be, the removal of our present excellent Governor. Give to Mr. Van Buren the Electoral vote and you must give the Executive to his party. They are no half-way politicians who support him, and you will have gone too far to resist. And Antimasons would then present, for the ridicule of all, the singular position of being the destroyer of their own candidate, for the benefit of their new allies: and in the over-

* The nomination of Wirt and Ellmaker is one in point. The Antimasons did not expect to elect them. The Boston Daily Advocate of December 6 1832, says "We give to our candidates but seven votes. It is seven more than *we expected to give*, or they to receive, at the time of their nomination."

flowings of their new-born zeal illustrate the truth that there are sometimes parties as well as men, who love their enemies better than their friends.

Some of those who took part in the meeting of January 29, which nominated Mr Van Buren, have declared that they prefer Mr Webster. What sort of public virtue that may be, which is guided by policy rather than principle, we leave you to judge. Such an avowal will not inspire respect in any party. He who acts upon it will be likely to desert at every change of fortune, and will not be scrupulous as to the character of the enemy he joins.

Allusion has been made, and by some who profess to be antimasons to Mr Webster's former connections with the Federal party. When we recollect that the same objection, and with equal force could have been applied to Mr Lathrop whom you have supported for Governor of this Commonwealth, and that two thirds of the original Antimasonic State Committee are obnoxious to the same charge, we feel absolved from the necessity of entering into an argument to excuse or palliate it. The work is already done for us, for the Antimasonic Convention which met at Worcester in 1832, has treated it in a manner which cannot fail to be acceptable to you, and remove any objections which may exist against our distinguished fellow citizen in consequence of his early political course.

Extract from the Address of the Antimasonic Convention held at Worcester, Sept. 1832.

"It has been the great aim of the enemies of Antimasonry, who foresaw that we should become too strong to conquer if united in the single object of our cause, to distract us by reviving forgotten, or creating new political and sectarian jealousies. Thus the National Convention had no sooner nominated Mr. Wirt, than one party objected to him on *our account*, as a *federalist*, and the other as a *mason*, though the first of these parties was half made up of federalists and the second half made up of masons.

Be it our business as Antimasons to convince them that we recognize no distinction of former or present party or sect, but the distinctions involving the success of our cause, and the great national interest we advocate. Whoever openly sustains that cause and those principles, is one of us, and belongs to our party, no matter what party may once have claimed him.

Among these distinctions, which we find most urged by the supporters of the present administration, (as if to strive to make up by *name*, what they lack in principle,) none are more idle and unmeaning than that of Democrat and Federalist. The measures on which those distinctions formerly existed, have given place to other important measures, upon which the adherents of all former parties are divided. With us all these distinctions have been forgotten and merged in the honorable appellation of Antimasonic Republicans. Let us prove that we are true to ourselves and our cause, by adhering to *our own* principles and arguments and disregarding secret or open enemies, who are so desirous of furnishing us with arguments of *their own to defeat that cause.*

We do not allude to these former distinctions of party because we believe them to be at all recognized by Antimasons, in the advancement of their great cause, but as an answer to those of our opponents of both the old parties, who attempt to excite jealousies among us, by taunting an Antimason who was once a *democrat*, for voting for an old *federalist*, when they think *that* will do hurt to our cause; or taunting an Antimason, once a *federalist*, for voting for an old *democrat*, when they think *that* will do hurt to our cause."

We have noticed every objection that has been brought against Mr. Webster that is worthy of consideration, and we trust have removed them. "He that openly sustains our cause is one of us, and belongs to our party, no matter what party may once have claimed him."

FRANCIS GRANGER was President of the first National Antimasonic Convention which met at Philadelphia, none will deny the soundness of his principles or his fitness for the elevated station of Vice President of the United States, nor is it here alone that Antimasons are rallying to the support of their distinguished advocate, his name is echoeing among the green hills of Vermont, and reverberating along the fertile vallies of the far west. Pennsylvania has buckled on her armour for the contest, and you will not be behind them in promoting the cause in which you have so long been engaged, by assisting to elevate one of its distinguished defenders to the second office in the Government.

That you should incur the censure of any portion of the Antimasonic party for supporting such men as WEBSTER and GRANGER may well excite surprise—men known to be openly friendly to your cause, capable, and of undeviating integrity, honest and open in all their views of national policy. It arises from that disposition which is cultivated among the political managers of the times to sacrifice to party what they owe to their Country.—Such partizans forget that minorities actuated by just and equitable principles, exert a salutary influence upon the community: for such is the constitution of our nature, that public virtue though apparently circumscribed in the extent of its means, exerts a force far beyond its mere numerical strength, and those who affect to despise it most, are often made to feel its importance even in the moments of their triumph. Who can control and confine the omnipotence of truth, it may be shadowed by sophistry and falsehood for a season, but its silent energy still exists and will burst forth with scorching brightness, even when, in the potency of their magic skill, the little managers of iniquity and error had proudly imagined they had quenched its light.

This has been strikingly illustrated in the controversy which has arisen on the subject of Freemasonry in which you have acted so conspicuous a part. Although your numbers were few, perseverance and conscious rectitude have given you all the advantages of victory—the great men of the land have bowed to the supremacy of your principles, and acknowledged the extent of the truths you have maintained. Other evils may be removed by the same means. The price of liberty is eternal warfare against the tendency of man to grasp at power, and the abuse which flows from unchecked ambition. You will not be moved from the position you occupy, by the inducement to be on the strongest side. Those who seek to induce you to abandon all your former principles of action by such a consideration, must hold in light estimation the characters of those to whom it is addressed. Men do not long persevere in a bad cause, without the mercenary stimulants of gain, or the no less powerful allurements of office—your steady attachment to your principles, with-

out the hope of either, is evidence of their correctness, and patriotism has paid the homage due to your zeal.

In the political controversies of the last three years, the National administration has encountered a minority powerful by the strength of its principles and the ability by which they have been sustained—which met the incroachments of power with a vigor of intellectual effort, which will excite admiration when the political tornado that has shaken the temple of Freedom shall have passed away. It has dragged the public plunderer loaded with the "Spoils" from the official security which sheltered him. It has exposed the iniquity of a PARTY GOVERNMENT, and laid open to after times, the available point at which future ambition will most successfully assail our liberties, when "inflexible minorities" can be awed into silence, and the only effort of patriotism will be, to join the strongest party, and secure its influence in the councils of the nation by an unconditional surrender of its principles.

By the firmness of the minority the storm, which awhile curtained our political horizon has passed away ; the wholesome checks of the Constitution arrested the progress of measures which would have involved us in a foreign war. Had we been but one consolidated party, to be moved by Executive will on the impulse of his passions, who can doubt that instead of enjoying the blessings of peace and prosperity we might now be realizing the agonizing sufferings of rapine and bloodshed.

But even in prosperity there is danger, error finds a congenial soil in luxury and ease; men become enervated by the easy attainment of wealth, and avarice troubles not itself with abstract notions of government. Yet liberty can never long exist without virtue nor true republicanism without intelligence.—They will become the victims of ignorance and vice when the people are indifferent to their own safety, and suffer their public obligations to be destroyed by individual selfishness. Party unnoticed by the once scrutinizing gaze of jealous freemen, will then continue to enroll undisturbed its hosts of foreign paupers, fresh from the soil where dependence and servitude are the only titles by which they claim a right to existence, into its disciplined ranks ; and papacy send its army of mendicants on a political crusade from the old world, to claim a secular allegiance of those who wear the spiritual bonds of that peculiar hierachy, in the new ; and infidelity, with its band of radicals, under pretence of reforming the abuses of society, destroy the foundations upon which it rests.

Be not then deceived, the moment of prosperity may be the most favorable for the subversion of those principles upon which the happiness of future generations depend. We have the history of the past and can judge of its character and tendency.—Let us exert ourselves so to preserve our principles that our children may not reproach us with having sacrificed them to the

Moloch of party. In our selection of rulers to guide the operations of government, let us be careful to commit the high trust to those who will be faithful to the *Constitution.* That alone is the palladium of our safety, and when it can be trodden under foot with impunity, our glory has departed; and our liberties will remain not on the firm unshaken rock of principle, where our fathers left them, but on the unstable and rolling quicksands of Political Expediency.

Such are the reasons which have induced us to nominate DANIEL WEBSTER and FRANCIS GRANGER as candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. We invite you to examine them with deliberation, and when the time for action arrives to sustain them with zeal. Convince the world that you have been sincere in your professions, and in your attachment to the cause you have espoused, by supporting those who are favorable to it, and that WHETHER IN MAJORITIES OR MINORITIES YOU WILL STAND BY THE GREAT PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES REST.

The following letter of Mr Webster to H. W. Kinsman, Esq. accepting the nomination as a candidate for the Presidency, has been published in a garbled manner, and kept as standing matter in the Boston Daily Advocate. We give it entire, and in order to show how little reliance can be placed upon that paper for fairness: that portion of the letter which is published in the Advocate is here printed in *italics.* We make no comment on such an incident. No honorable mind can mistake its character—

WASHINGTON FEB. 27, 1836.

My Dear Sir,—The Whig Members of the Legislature of Massachusetts, of the last year, saw fit to put me in nomination for the office of President of the United States.

Events have since occurred, which were probably not anticipated, and which may be thought to have rendered a reconsideration of that nomination expedient. If this opinion should be entertained by the Whig Members of the present Legislature, I should exceedingly regret that they should forbear to act upon it, from any motives of delicacy towards me. Indeed, *in the state of things at present existing in the country, my personal wishes are, to withdraw my name from the place it occupies before the public, in connexion with the approaching election;* and I am restrained from so doing, only by the consideration, that there are interests, which might be affected by such a movement, in regard to which the opinions of others ought to be consulted.

I wish you, therefore, my dear sir, to signify to our friends, that *not only would it give me no pain to be no longer considered a candidate, but that such a change in my relations to the country would be altogether agreeable to my personal feelings.* At the same time, I wish it may also be said to them, that I shall not act in opposition to their judgment, of what is required by the public good. I shall not separate from them, nor from those principles which we have hitherto maintained, and which, I trust, we shall continue to maintain, whether in majorities or minorities, or in prosperous or adverse fortune. If in their opinion, our common principles and common cause, notwithstanding what has occurred, do still require of me, that I remain in my present position. I shall cheerfully abide by their determination, confident that in no events hereafter to happen, can it become matter of regret to me, that I have conformed to what seemed best to their honest patriotism and intelligent sense of public duty.

With this distinct expression of my own personal wishes, therefore, I leave the subject for their decision; desiring them to consider nothing, but what just and consistent principle, sincere, patriotic duty, and the great cause of Constitutional Liberty may appear, in the present posture of public affairs, to demand from them and from me.

With very true regard, Your ob'dt. servant, DANIEL WEBSTER.

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